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Miller, Warner

Speeches of Warner Miller

New York

1888

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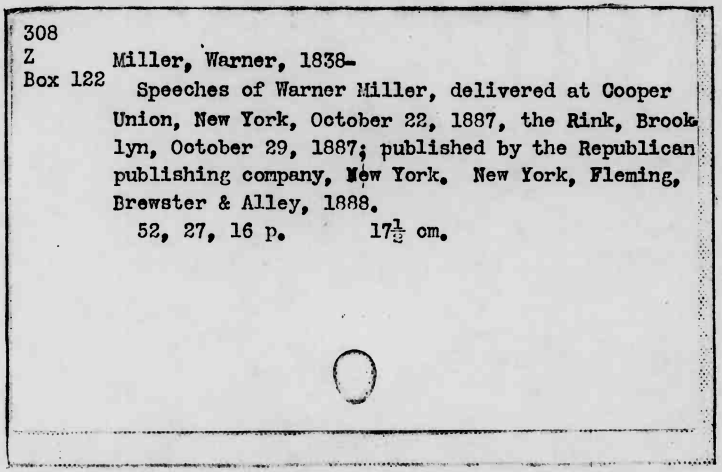

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No. 1.

SPEECHES BY

WARNER MILLER

DELIVERED AT

COOPER UNION, NEW YORK,

OCTOBER 22, 1887.

THE RINK, BROOKLYN,

OCTOBER 29, 1887.

PUBLISHED BY

THE REPUBLICAN PUBLISHING COMPANY.

PRICE, $3.00 PER 100 COPIES. IN ENVELOPES, $3.50.

NEW YORK
PRESS OF FLEMING, BREWSTER & ALLEY
1888

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THE R. P. CO., New York.

Speech delivered by Hon. Warner Miller, at the Republican meeting at Cooper Union, New York, Saturday evening, October 22, 1887.

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen:

I thank you most sincerely for this hearty greeting. If the State of New York, for the past four years, has been doubtful to the Republican party, it is all due to the city of New York. The overwhelming Democratic majorities with which you have greeted our Republican majorities of the rural districts, have borne us under from time to time. During the past week, as I have appeared before the people in the country, I have asked them: "What of the contest?" and they have replied, without exception: "It is all right here: we shall give our usual Republican majority; but what can you tell us of the city of New York?" I have come here as an ambassador from the rural Republicans, to ask the Republicans of this city to send me back with the assurance that if we come

down to the Harlem River with an old-time Republican majority, they will greet us with a like majority. When, last night, in coming into your city, I crossed Spuyten Duyvil Creek, I felt like leaving behind me all my Republican hopes. I was not certain that the distinguished gentleman whose name has been given to the creek, instead of being of Dutch ancestry, was not of Democratic ancestry. I hope to take back to the country the assurance that the Republicans of New York will do their full duty. I believe I may guarantee that they will.

True Interests of New York City.

The interests of the city of New York lie with the Republican party. It is true that this is the great centre and stronghold of free trade. This is the great entry port into which the manufacturers of Europe pour their more than six hundred million dollars' worth of goods annually, and from which they take out our gold and our products. Vast interests here would be glad to see broken down the barriers which the Republican party has builded up for the protection of home industries. I understand it all full well. I know that foreign manufacturers are holding the great import trade

of this city. Twenty-five years ago, or even twenty years ago, the great importing trade of this city was in the hands of American citizens. But to-day the foreign manufacturer, through his own immediate agent or representative in this city, by means of fraudulent invoices, and by undervaluations, has driven out of the importing trade in this city nearly every American citizen. Go into the great mercantile part of the city and look. I will defy the average American citizen to pronounce one-half of the names he finds upon the signs. Yet in spite of undervaluations; in spite of fraudulent invoices; in spite of Treasury decisions made in the interest of free trade by this Administration, the American people have met free trade here in its stronghold, upon the very threshold of the country, and won great victories.

Instructive Figures.

The last census shows that while New York city is the entry port for more than three-quarters of all the foreign goods that come into our country, it is at the same time the leading manufacturing city of this continent. Formerly the city of Philadelphia had that honor. By its thousands of shops, and in the happy homes

of its hundreds of thousands of laboring men, it had made itself distinguished as the chief manufacturing city of the country. But in 1880 the census proved that New York had become the foremost city of American industry; and when this great question was brought home to the people of this city in the national campaign of 1880, it was by arousing the skilled mechanics; it was by bringing home to the laboring men here the importance of protection and the dangers that threatened it in Democratic ascendency, that we gained the victory and elected Garfield President of the United States.

The presidential campaign of 1880 was settled in New York, as was the campaign of 1884; and undoubtedly within a radius of five miles from where I am now standing, the campaign of 1888 will be settled in favor of either Democracy or Republicanism.

A Duty.

The Republican party has hardly become accustomed to its new position. It held the government so long, now that it is in the minority, it finds itself through sympathy inclined to make excuses for the shortcomings of the Democratic Administration. But in a great government like

ours—a government of parties—the party in opposition owes it to itself—owes it to the country—to be vigilant in its criticism, in its examination of the acts of the party in power, and of all its leaders.

I do not propose, at this late hour, to undertake to go fully over the record of the Democratic party since it has been in power; or to go over the pledges and promises which it made to the American people in the campaign of 1884; or to show you half the evidence of how it has failed to keep those pledges; or how it has utterly failed to substantiate any charges that it made against the Republican party. The Democratic party for years has been begging of us to allow its past to remain buried. We forgave it for what it did before the war. We forgave it for what it did during the war. We may, I suppose, forgive it for its base charges made against us in the campaign of 1884. But, fellow-citizens, there are important questions before us; there were important questions in the last Congress, and the work of government is practical work. We must know how the Democratic party proposes to treat the issues that are now before the people. We have a right to ask of it what it proposes to do with them in all con-

tingencies that may arise, and a right to examine its record, at least of the last two years, to see what it indicates touching important present and future questions.

The Surplus.

First. We are confronted with a constantly increasing surplus in the National Treasury—growing at the rate of about $10,000,000 per month. We have paid off all the bonds that are subject to call before 1891, and it is impossible to continue to accumulate this large surplus year after year without bringing financial trouble, and perhaps panic and ruin, upon the business interests of the country. How is this question to be met—how does the Democratic party propose to meet it? I need not go into any lengthy explanation to show you how the Republican party in the past was continually reducing taxation and bringing its revenues into a condition of harmony with the annual expenditures and the gradual payment of the public debt. I notice that during the years that we held power, there was no trouble about a surplus. We, of course, collected more revenue than the ordinary expenses of the government demanded, but we paid off a large portion of the public debt, thus promptly returning every surplus dollar to the channels of

business; and we went on paying, until we had paid more than half the whole debt, and reduced the annual interest charge to one-third what it was at the close of the war.

Condition Two-and-a-half Years Ago.

When the Democratic party came into power two and a half years ago, it had this situation staring it in the face.

It knew positively that July 1st, 1887, there would be no bonds held at the option of the Government; and it knew that from that time on, with as much certainty as it could know anything, that the surplus would increase at the rate of $10,000,000 per month, unless prevented by legislation. What did Democrats do? They did nothing—they presented no bill in Congress to meet the emergency. The warring factions of the Democracy disagreed among themselves and failed to do anything. A year before they had offered a bill to reduce the tariff upon a horizontal basis of twenty per cent., but it was hooted out of Congress, and the whole American people regarded it as absurd.

Their Present Plan.

Now, what do they propose? Let me call your attention to the Democratic platform as expressed at the Saratoga convention in September, and in order that I may not be mistaken, I will read:

"The unnecessary taxation of the last fiscal year exceeded $100,000,000; unnecessary taxation is unjust taxation; therefore, the Democracy of New York demands that Federal taxation be straightway reduced by a sum not less than $100,000,000 a year; and also respectfully urge upon Congress that a measure shall be adopted which will—in the language of the President, in his inaugural address—relieve the people from unnecessary taxation, having due regard to the interests of workingmen employed in American industries. The taxes to be first reduced or altogether removed are those on imported raw materials, which now assist and promote the foreign competition with ourselves in our markets, and prevent or hinder the sale of our products in foreign markets."

Well, what are these taxes that are to be remedied or reduced? "The taxes that enhance the cost to our wage earners, for the necessaries of life, and price of common daily clothing?" It is well to have *daily* clothing cheaper, I suppose, because we wear more in the day-time than we do at night.

What is It?

Now, fellow-citizens, that is the plan that the Democratic party of New York, which is somewhat powerful in the National Democratic organization, proposes for a reduction of the surplus. It is declared to be in accordance with the ideas of the President of the United States, as stated in his inaugural address. It is also substantially the plan suggested by the late Secretary of the Treasury in his annual message to Congress. So, here we have in substance the plan of the Democratic party—the only plan it has so far proposed. Although they have had two years in which to work it out, they have not done it yet, because they could not agree among themselves. But in the Congress which is to meet in December this question of the surplus will come to the front and must be met, in one way or another, by the party in power. It cannot longer be shirked.

Will Increase the Surplus.

Now, I think I can prove to the judgment of every sensible man, that that plan, if carried out, will not at all reduce the surplus, but will increase it, and at the same time, destroy many of our American manufactures and industries. The first

proposition is that all raw material shall be admitted free of duty. This has been a sort of rallying cry with the Democratic party for the last two or three years, and one would suppose from reading their platform that no raw materials are permitted to come into this country without paying a duty. In fact, I have met many Republicans who have adopted the same theory and wanted to know what objection there could be to it. I say "none," because they come in free now. The policy of the Republican party upon a Protective Tariff has been to bring into this country, free of duty, all raw materials not products of our own country. Last year we imported a little over $600,000,000 of foreign products, of which one-third, or about $212,000,000, were of products that came in on the free list, without paying a farthing of tax or duty. What, then, are the things which these gentlemen want to put upon the free list as raw materials? One is wool, another is iron-ore, and a third is coal.

Wool.

When the Republican party placed the present duty on wool, it did it for the express purpose of encouraging sheep husbandry in this country, and bringing it to such a point that the

farmers of this country could grow wool—grow enough, at least, to clothe our own people. And what has been the result? Before that tax was put on foreign wool we did not produce more than 60,000,000 pounds of wool in this country. Last year we produced nearly 500,000,000 pounds, and to-day our manufacturers do not care or need to import much wool, except a coarse quality for carpets. But if the duty were taken off wool, it would not be five years before sheep husbandry in this country would be substantially destroyed, and instead of 500,000,000 pounds per annum, we would not produce one-quarter of it. The cheap foreign wools of Australia and other countries, where sheep go without care, would flood our markets and destroy one of the most important industries of the country. So much for wool!

Coal and Iron.

Now for coal and iron-ore. Our mountains are full of them. Here in the State of New York we have some of the greatest iron deposits in the world. I know that our neighbor Pennsylvania is called the iron State, but it is a misnomer. New York ought to be called the iron State, for we send Pennsylvania hundreds of thousands of tons

of ores per annum to put into her iron. Take the duty off of iron-ore and coal, and what will become of the poor miners, delving in the earth, for whom our Democratic brethren profess so much sympathy?

But, fellow-citizens, if you were to put these three upon the free list, it would reduce your revenue but a paltry three or four or five millions of dollars —I forget the exact amount, but it is a mere bagatelle, in comparison with the $100,000,000 per annum surplus we are dealing with.

Common Necessaries of Life.

The surplus remains and the question remains, How do they propose to reduce it? They cannot do it by adding articles to the free list as raw materials—they do not exist; for, as I have said, they are already there. They propose, as I read in this platform, to reduce the duties upon what are called the common necessaries of life and common clothing. Well, what are the common necessaries of life? Will any man in our complex civilization distinguish and undertake to tell us what are the common necessaries of life? But certainly they must include food, clothing and shelter. Off of what articles that enter into our

food do they propose to take the duty? Do they propose to take it off sugar? The Republican party long ago put tea and coffee on the free list, because they were not American products. We can produce sugar, but we have been able so far to produce only a very small percentage of the amount of sugar that our people consume, and the makers of sugar have put upon it a duty of about fifty millions of dollars per annum. Will the Democrats consent to put sugar upon the free list, in order that this common necessary of life may be made two cents a pound cheaper to every man's table in the country? They have never voted that way when the question was up in Congress. Oh, no! sugar is the product of a Democratic State—Louisiana—and they have not hesitated to vote for free iron, free wool and free coal, but when we have barely suggested that some of this immense tax upon sugar—upon the poor man's breakfast table—should be taken off, because we did not need the revenue, the Democrats, free-traders and all, have rallied solid to protect the interest of Louisiana. Evidently they do not propose to take the tax off this necessary of life.

Clothing.

They have been somewhat explicit upon one point—they tell us they propose to take the duty off, or reduce it upon, common clothing. Upon what? Is it upon our cotton goods? They could not make them any cheaper if they did; for we are exporting all grades of cotton to all the world. They are cheaper here than in Birmingham, England; and under the American Protective Tariff system, too. It is clear they cannot reduce the cost of the cotton clothing of the people by taking off duty. They must intend, then, to reduce the cost of our woolen goods. But it is a fact here also which can be substantiated, that the common grades of woolen goods consumed largely by our laboring people, when we size them quality for quality, are quite as cheap here as anywhere in the world. By our tariff laws we have substantially shut out shoddy, so that it cannot be put into the common wearing apparel of our people; and, by American ingenuity and skill, we have made it possible for the laboring man of to-day to get a fair suit of clothes for from $6.00 to $10.00, depending upon the quality he desires.

What Figures Teach—Iron.

But let us see some of the things which were imported last year: I will be brief about it, and mention but two articles. Last year we imported into this country $50,000,000 worth of iron and steel; and this notwithstanding that the products of our furnaces were greater than ever before. Before 1860 we had never made in this country more than 8,000 tons of pig-iron in a year; last year we made over 5,000,000 tons. Still, I say, we imported last year over $50,000,000 worth of iron and steel, the duties upon which were $19,000,000. If our Democratic friends cut down the duty upon iron what will be the result—will it be a reduction of revenue? Let us see: the duty upon pig-iron is $6.50 per ton; reduce it to $5.00 per ton, and the importation in the next 60 days will be greater than it has been in the last two years, and the revenue received from it will be five times greater than the revenue received from it at the present rate. So reducing duty on iron will not reduce the surplus.

Woolen Goods.

We imported last year $44,000,000 worth of woolen goods, mostly of the finer grades. If you

reduce the duties upon these, whom do you benefit? Only the rich people who wear them. But reduce the duty upon woolen goods perceptibly and you will quadruple their importation, and thereby vastly increase the revenue received from this source. And so I might go through the whole list. Take the whole list of manufactured products of this country coming into competition with Europe, and if you reduce the duty upon any of them or upon all of them, as is proposed, in considerable quantities, you will immediately increase the revenue, and, instead of reducing, vastly increase the surplus, besides sending vast sums of money abroad, thus contracting our currency and doing infinite damage to our industries.

Divide the Tariff Double the Revenue.

As Mr. Burke, the greatest of English statesmen, said, when discussing this question many years ago: "You may divide the tariff, but you will double the revenue." And that is just what the Democratic plan would do if it were carried into effect. Instead of our surplus revenue for the next year being $100,000,000, it would more likely be $200,000,000 or $250,000,000. And while you are accumulating this surplus, what

would become of American industry and American labor? As already intimated, they would suffer incalculable injury. I need not go back into history or refer to the experiments we have made in reducing our duties, to recall to your minds the terrible panics and disasters which followed in every single case where it was tried. You cannot reduce the revenue from our tariff system except by putting articles upon the free list. When they are put upon the free list, of course that revenue will cease. If you simply want to *reduce* the revenue from imported goods, you can do it by increasing the tariff—not by reducing, unless you wipe it out entirely and go for bald free trade. If the duty upon iron, instead of being $6.50 per ton was $7 or $8 per ton; and if the duty on steel blooms had not been changed by the decision of the Treasury Department making it lower than Congress intended it to be, you would have reduced by three-fourths the amount of iron imported, and of course would have reduced the tariff received from these articles. And if to-day you would increase the duty upon the higher grades of woolen goods 25 per cent., you would decrease their importation from 50 to 75 per cent., and decrease the revenue received from

them accordingly. Increase the revenue, and you set hundreds of thousands of laboring men at work here at home, making the goods the importation of which would be checked.

No Solution.

I say then, in brief, that the Democratic party offers no solution of this question at all. Evidently, in the language of our Chairman, "they have no ideas upon the subject." I need not pause to tell you how the Republican party would reduce the revenue. I have referred you to the past history of the party to show that it has always kept revenue and expenditures in harmony, and if in power now there would be no trouble about a surplus whatever. It would arrange our tariff system and our internal revenue system wisely, as it has done heretofore. We should not have gone through this summer under a perpetual threat of a panic if the Republican party had been in power. There is no business man before me to-night who has not lost many hours of sleep during the past summer, when seeking rest at the sea-shore or in the mountains, because of the fear that some great financial disturbance might break out and ruin his business,

and the value of his property be destroyed and swept away.

Democracy a Continuous Threat.

The Democratic party, since it has been in power, has been one continuous threat to the business interest of this country. Capital for a long time lay idle in this city; you could not loan money for one-half of one per cent., and one or two per cent. on call was wealth to the man who could get it. And why? Because the business men of the country did not dare to invest their money in manufacturing enterprises for fear of the mischief the Democratic party might do in tinkering with the tariff and with the financial and banking laws. The policy of the party, I say, since it has been in power, has been one continuous menace to the business interest of the country. Do you reply that no great disaster has come? You need not thank the Democratic party for that; for, as you have heard here to-night from other speakers, it has done *absolutely nothing* since it came into power, because it has not been able to agree upon a policy. It has simply been a standing threat to all of our industries and interests.

What it has Done.

These are some of the things the party has left undone. Now, let us consider some of the things it has done, or has tried to do, which I think are fair subjects of criticism. I propose to present them to you as American citizens, and ask you to pass judgment upon the course of the Democratic party, and to say whether you believe it ought to be left in control of this great government.

Foreign Policy—The Fishery Question.

First, as to its foreign policy—if that be not a misnomer—because, if I understand it, this administration has had no foreign policy. It has permitted such policy as it *has* had to be dictated from the British foreign office. This is a serious charge, and I am not making it for bunkum or for applause. Let us see. We have the fishery question upon us. I need not stop to explain it minutely, but under a former treaty our fishermen and the people in the New England States found that they were at a disadvantage, and notice was given that the treaty should be abrogated. It expired according to notice. What did this Democratic administration do? Nothing? Oh, yes it did do something. It voted that treaty in force against the interest of the people for six months by the simple *ipse dixit* of the Secretary of State. Last winter, when Congress met, the Administration asked for power to appoint a commission to settle the matter. But Congress said: "No, we are satisfied with the condition of affairs as it is, save that we want the Administration to enforce the laws, and guarantee and protect the rights of our fishermen."

Defying Congress.

And so Congress refused to appropriate money or empower the President to appoint a commission on the subject. What has the President done since? In defiance of the expressed will of the people of this country, as expressed through their representatives in Congress, he has presumed to appoint a commission to deal with this question. The American people might well pause to consider what this Democratic party is doing in directly defying the will of the people as expressed through Congress. I know it is the fashion in some quarters to belittle Congress and the men who compose that body. But they are

the representatives of the people and in them all power is lodged. Some one has told us, not many years ago, that the office of President is purely an executive office; but the same man has got away from that now, and he undertakes to decide and to act, not in accordance with the law, but in defiance of law and of the expressed wishes of the people. And where do we find ourselves to-day? Our neighbors on the north, taking matters into their own hands, have seized our fishing vessels and denied to our fishermen the common rights of humanity, of shelter and food. They came into our ports simply because we would not continue the treaty under which they were gaining great advantages over our own people.

The State Department.

What has the State Department done? I know of nothing it has done to defend the honor of American citizenship—nothing to protect American rights and American fishermen. But let us go farther in the foreign policy of this administration. Mr. Seward, as Secretary of State, bought from Russia the great territory called Alaska, and called it the territory of the Behring Seas and its seal fisheries. We took it with all the

rights that belonged to Russia, and by an act of Congress we had undertaken to protect the seal fisheries in the Behring sea. The government leased these fisheries out to a company, and it has been receiving for this rental enough to pay the interest upon the total cost of Alaska, $7,000,000. But the Democratic party comes into power. English vessels go into Behring sea and capture seals. American cutters arrested them at once for infringement on our rights and upon our own territories. What was the first act of the American Secretary of State? It was to order the release of these English sailors. Then, suddenly, the administration discovered that it had probably made a mistake—that under the treaty of purchase from Russia Behring sea belonged to us; and all the rights that our people claimed there belonged to us; and that there was an act of Congress, also, directing the protection of these fisheries.

Backing Out.

Then began a devious course of backing out. The documents have not been made public yet, and we do not know what the correspondence has been; but within a few days we have been told that the Secretary of State has so far humbled himself to

the foreign office of England as to telegraph his regrets that the order had not been carried out for releasing the sailors. It seems impossible that this should have happened under a Democratic administration, for in the past history of the Democratic party, if there were many black spots, there was certainly one white one—one bright one—and that was that it had always maintained a firm foreign policy—it was always ready to fight for American rights, and for the rights of American seamen. In short, fellow-citizens, we may congratulate ourselves that our entire foreign policy up to the beginning of this administration, no matter what party was in power, was always a brave and manly one. We were ready to go to war for our rights whether we had any ships, or any guns, or men, or not—we went at it and created ships and guns as fast as we could. Why, it was Thomas Jefferson who negotiated the treaty for the purchase of Louisiana—of that vast country—and it is one of the bright spots in our foreign diplomacy to which the Democratic party points, and to which it may well point with pride. But what shall we say of the party's position to-day? I have no language which will adequately express my contempt for the course which has been followed by this administration in regard to foreign affairs. It has been a policy of todyism—nothing more nor less.

The Nicaragua Treaty.

We might go still farther. I might call your attention, and I will for a single moment, to this condition of affairs. When the Republican administration went out of power it had submitted to the Senate of the United States what was known as the Nicaragua treaty—a treaty which would have given us absolute control of the great canal or highway across the Isthmus, and which would unite our Pacific sea-coast with our Gulf and Atlantic sea-coast—an object our people have desired, and for which they have labored for the last half century. We had negotiated a treaty that, in the judgment of men who saw and considered it, was believed to be of the very highest importance to all our commercial interests, and which would undoubtedly have added much to the strength and glory of the nation.

It had been sent to the Senate of the United States for approval. But what was almost the first act of Secretary of State Bayard when he came into power? It was to withdraw that treaty

from the Senate of the United States and to consign it to oblivion. All the rights and franchises which we would have gained under it, if ratified, have been lost to our people, and thus our development and our growth, which I believe would have been greatly advanced by the carrying out of its provisions, have been postponed—no one knows for how long.

I need not remind you that General Grant, as President of the United States and as a private citizen, gave much study to this subject, and that the project was one of which he fully approved. I only refer to this, fellow citizens, to show you how the Democratic party is mismanaging the great commercial interests of the country.

Our Merchant Marine.

Let me come now to another subject of importance to the business men of New York—our merchant marine. When the late war closed our merchant marine had been entirely swept from the seas by steamers built in ship-yards and manned and equipped by English sailors. We were kept busy after the close of the war for some years in repairing our internal system. We were engaged in building up the waste places and

generally in repairing the damages of the war. We supposed that our merchant marine would again spring into life and vigor. But after a few years we found that it would not, and when we came to look for the reason we found that the days of wooden ships were passing away. The iron ship was the ship of the future. England had perfected herself in the building of them, and having gained the triumph of the seas through our war, she was able to hold it—she was holding it by her iron ships and steamships. Besides, she was paying large subsidies to her steamship lines for carrying her mails to the four quarters of the earth. Thus we found ourselves shut out of that part of our industry which belonged to us. At once we began to consider the question of reform and remedial measures, patterning after England. We said, It is necessary to establish mail lines to all those countries with which we want to have a large trade. We found ourselves entirely cut off from Central and South America. When we wanted to send mail to Brazil or wanted to go to Brazil, it was necessary to take a steamer at New York and sail first to Liverpool, and then take an English steamer to some port in South America. We could not expect large commercial relations

under such conditions, and after taking the advice of the Chambers of Commerce of nearly every leading city in the United States, the Republican Senate appointed a committee, which was joined by a committee from the House, and they brought in measures of relief.

Again Defying Congress.

They were intended as measures of relief, but they did not seem to improve the condition of affairs. The chief measure proposed was that we should appropriate money, as England had done, to pay steamship companies fair rates for carrying the mails from our ports to the leading ports in South America. That proposition was fought over, in the time of Democratic control of the House, the Democratic party standing in opposition to anything like a subsidy, or to the establishment of mail lines. Finally, in the Forty-eighth Congress, near the close of the session, we put in an appropriation bill in the Senate, $448,000, to enable the Postmaster-General to pay a fair compensation for the organization of a new steamship line, which it was expected would run chiefly to Central and South America, where we were seeking trade. The Democratic Administration came into power. What did the Postmaster-General do? Did he carry out the law of Congress? Not at all. He refused to use a dollar of the money, and it lies untouched in the public treasury to-day. At the next session of Congress we were not disposed to deal harshly with him, believing that he should have more time. We increased the appropriation, and in both houses of Congress we called upon him to carry into effect this law, and use this money for the establishment of steamship lines to those countries. Not a dollar of it has been expended yet, and he refuses *in toto* to touch it; and so to-day our South American trade, which should be our best trade, is entirely in the hands of the English. We have one steamship line running, and it has been carrying the mails for the United States, but it has not been paid for it; it has carried the mails for a long time free, because it found it necessary to have the mails go with the merchandise, or there could be no trade. I need not say to any New York merchant that you can have no trade in a foreign country unless you have regular mail connection with that country. Every business man knows that.

Democratic Obstinacy and Stupidity.

The Democratic party is constantly crying out that we need more foreign trade, but it will not lift a finger to promote trade—it will not expend the money that has been appropriated. It stands there deliberately refusing to do a thing that ought to be done. And why? What reason does it give? It says, "Nothing shall be done—none of this money shall be expended; we will give no help in this matter until you repeal your navigation laws and give us free ships." That is the ultimatum. The navigation laws, which have built up our immense coast-line trade, must be repealed, and with the trade opened up to the English and to the world, we are to admit foreign-built ships into our country free, or there shall be no relief for our merchant marine. Are you ready for that proposition, merchants of New York City? If not, then see to it that the Democrats of this city do not have more than 40,000 majority in November.

Another Great Subject.

There is another great subject which interests the people in this city, and, in fact, interests every

commercial people—the improvement of our rivers and harbors. With an overflowing Treasury, you can get only paltry appropriations for your great harbors and rivers, and they are fitful and uncertain. Let us see. At the first session of the last Congress an appropriation of $18,000,000 was made for the rivers and harbors of this country, and signed by President Cleveland. The last session passed a bill appropriating about $8,000,000—less than half the amount of the year before. President Cleveland vetoed that bill, or rather allowed it to die without his signature. As a result, the loss upon the public works of this country, before another appropriation bill can be passed, by storms, by the elements, and by damage to unfinished work, will be 25 per cent. of the whole amount of that appropriation bill—certainly a foolish policy for a country that can borrow at three per cent. Why should we be ten, fifteen or twenty years in digging out Hell Gate, or deepening the water over Sandy Hook Bar to 30 feet, without completing the work, when we have an overflowing Treasury? Why not appropriate the money in a sufficient sum and regulate the payments, so that the work may go rapidly forward? In short, fellow citizens, the Democratic party

has been carping at the heels of the Republican party for twenty-five years, because of the good it has done in developing the wonderful resources of this country: now that it is itself in power it refuses to do anything. Is it not high time for it to go out of power and surrender tasks to which it is unequal?

On Banks and Currency.

I might speak here also of the refusal of the Democratic party to do anything to relieve the present strained condition of our national banking system. I need not speak to the people before me of the benefits which have come to the people of this country from its national banking system. You know to-day, that, under the present condition of affairs, with the high price of bonds and other conditions surrounding national banks, there is no profit whatever to such a bank in its circulation. And the figures also show that the national banking circulation has been curtailed, during the past year, to the extent of about $36,000,000. If some relief is not soon provided, the national banking system must go out of existence. Need I remind you that only a few years ago, when the charters of the first national banks

began to expire, it was with the greatest possible difficulty that a bill was passed permitting national banks to continue their existence for twenty years longer? If the Democratic party had had control of the entire government at that time—of both Houses of Congress and the President—there is no probability that any bill for that purpose could have passed Congress. The result would have been that our national banking system would have been doomed, and, as their charters expired, the banks would have gone out of existence. Do we want to be returned to the old State banking system? I believe not; but nevertheless all our institutions—our banking system, our tariff system, and all that they mean to our people, are constantly menaced and threatened by the Democratic party, at Washington.

State Bank Danger.

Do you ask me how that can be? Do you say, Are not the Democratic representatives in the House, from the State of New York, usually tariff men and in favor of national banks and financial machinery as now established? I answer, as a rule they are; but the Democratic party is not controlled by the Northern contingent. The

contingent of Mr. Randall has only about thirty-five votes, and when the Democratic party gets in caucus at Washington it is controlled by its Southern section, which has more than three-quarters of its entire membership. It makes a free-trade Speaker for the House of Representatives; it appoints a Committee on Ways and Means in favor of free trade; it appoints a committee on banking and currency in favor of the continued coinage of silver and opposed to the national banking system; and so here, in this great commercial city, leading business men walk up and deliberately vote away their own interests and rights, by voting the Democratic party a majority in the Lower House of Congress.

Involved in a False Philosophy.

I do not question the loyalty of the Democratic party, either North or South, but the men who control the Government to-day at Washington, are substantially the same men who held control when the first gun was fired upon Sumter. They have learned nothing from that day to this. Their philosophy was learned in the South from Calhoun and his compatriots, and there they stand. Do you know that south of the Ohio and Potomac

rivers less than ten per cent. of the manufactures of this country are produced—in fact, I believe not more than five per cent.; that all our great financial institutions, our great insurance companies, and loan companies, and trust companies, are to be found in the busy havens of industry at the North. These men of the South, although perhaps now as loyal as we, know little or nothing of the wants of our great civilization, as it has grown up since the war. But they are opposed to national banks; opposed to the tariff system; opposed to everything national, because they still believe in the reserved rights of the States, as against the Nation. They hold to this stupid antiquated theory, and there they stand controlling national legislation by the aid of a few Northern Democrats and the tyranny of the caucuses. It is a strange, an anomalous situation. All these vast interests of which I have spoken—of commerce and of finance—of industries of all kinds located here among the people of the North, and the Government absolutely in the hands of the men of the South, who have no comprehension of our needs which are the needs of the nation. Shall not this be changed? Do the merchants of New York city want the merchant marine built up?

Do they want our industries protected? Do they want the national bank system strengthened and preserved? Do they want a thoroughly comprehensive national policy in everything affecting national interests? If so, they must see to it that the Republican party wins, and in the election of next year is returned to power in the National Government, otherwise there is no hope.

A Matter of Habit.

I might go on indefinitely calling to your mind evidence of the incompetence of the Democratic party. But it is a wearisome task, and enough to give one the blues. I say the Republicans have not yet become accustomed to their new position. Why, I remember several scenes in the Senate the past year, when some one was criticising the Administration, instantly some good Republican Senator was upon his feet to defend it. He had forgotten, I guess, that his own party was not still in power. The Republicans have been in the habit of leading in this country so long, and not of following, that I doubt if they ever get fully used to it. Still, we must look after our Democratic brethren, or great trouble may come to us all.

Local Affairs.

I might detain you here, as you are so patient in your seats, to speak more fully of the interests and issues that have already been discussed before you; but you understand it all full well, and I would not for a moment presume to tell you what to do in your local political affairs. I would not know where to begin or where to leave off; and yet, when I see a city of a million and a quarter of people allowing two factions of its politicians to get together in a hotel or a hall, and there fix up a ticket which the people are to adopt, and the people tamely submit to it, I can only ask myself, is this a free people?

The Tempèrance Question.

The position of the Republican party upon the temperance question, has been fully explained by the honorable chairman of this meeting. The party has taken its stand in its platform upon it, and it will not flinch from it, no matter what the consequence may be. The Democratic party up to the present hour, has not ventured to come before the people and explain its platform, or defend its record, or speak of what it will do in the

future. Apparently the Democrats propose to allow the election day, on the 8th of November, to come and go, without opening their mouths at all, before the people of this State. Do they defy the people, or are they afraid to meet them and discuss the record and the issues? I know not what may be their object; whether it be a still hunt, or a defiance of the people. I simply know the fact that up to this hour, and almost within two weeks of election, no Democratic speaker has ventured upon the platform before the people in this city.

Labor Parties.

But there is no lack of parties and no lack of orators. The land is filled with the noise raised by new parties. I will ask your indulgence for just a little longer, while I give my views upon the discussion now going on upon the labor and land question. We are somewhat interested in land in this country. The basis for all the agitation upon this question to-day is to be found in this proposition of Mr. George: that "the rich are growing richer and the poor are growing poorer." He says the wage earners are no better than slaves, and are being ground into the earth by

capital and monopoly; and that that is the necessary result of our civilization, as we have it. If that charge be true, then our government and our civilization is a fallacy and a failure, and it ought to be changed; I do not hesitate to say that. Our forefathers thought, when they set up this government, that they were establishing a system which would lead to the greatest possible development and prosperity and happiness of the people. That is what they aimed to do, and they believed that under its benign influence all men would have equal opportunities and their rights before the law. Washington believed it; Jefferson believed it and taught it; the Adamses, Franklin, Madison, Hamilton, and down the whole line to the present day this has been the belief of our greatest and best men. Is it possible that these men were all mistaken? Is it possible that we have been building up a system of fallacy and fraud? That while we have been emancipating the colored race we have been enslaving fellowmen of our own race? No, I say, it is not possible. It is not possible, and no man has yet undertaken to give a single fact, for this assumption has gone before the people substantially uncontradicted; no man has undertaken to give a

single fact to substantiate the statement. It is all assertion and no proof.

Facts and Proof.

But let me give you a few facts to disprove it. We are told that "the poor are growing poorer and the rich are growing richer"—that the wage earners are slaves, and that the constant tendency is to lower the rate of wages and lower the rate and condition of living to the workingman. I deny it. The general success of our government and the prosperity and growth of the country disprove it absolutely.

Wages to-day are higher in this country than they were twenty years ago, higher than they were ten years ago, and higher than they were five years ago. Mr. Edward Atkinson, of Boston, a great statistician and careful student—a man standing at the head of his profession—has declared lately that the American workman, in the wages he receives and in the purchasing power of those wages, is 100 per cent. better off to-day than he was in 1860. That is to say, the increase of wages and the increased power of the money in buying the necessaries of life, is 100 per cent. greater now than it was twenty-seven years ago.

He says further, and gives the figures to prove it, that the wages received and their increased power to purchase, makes the condition of the common factory operative *75 per cent.* better than in 1860. You may follow that into every division of life and labor, and you will find it true. I do not mean to say that there is no misery, no poverty, no want. I regret that there is a vast amount of it, and I have no idea that it will ever be wholly abolished from the earth.

Savings-Banks.

One or two statements more on this point—I deal in figures, not assertions. The savings-banks of this country hold the savings of the laboring people for the time being. The laboring man goes on accumulating money in the savings-bank until he has accumulated enough to buy him a home, or to take him to the far West and settle upon a farm. The savings-banks of this country are larger in the Northern cities and cities having manufacturing industries, year by year—last year $994,000,000. In this State of New York alone there was something over $500,000,000—more than all the savings to be found in all the savings

institutions of England to-day, with her 36,000,000 of people.

Is there Monopoly in Land?

These men tell us that there is a tendency to monopoly in land. I deny it. And I am backed up by the United States Census to sustain me. In 1860 there were 2,000,000 separate farms in this country. In 1880 there were 4,000,000, and to-day there are half as many more. In 1860 the average size of these farms was 199 acres. In 1880 it was only 134 acres; showing absolutely that the land is being constantly divided and subdivided among the people—the very reverse of monopoly. True, there are some large land companies in the West, holding vast tracts of land, but they are rapidly disappearing. Why, need I remind you of the colonial history of this State, when nearly all the land from here to Albany, on both sides of the river, was held by a few Patroons? You remember the great land companies. What has become of them? With the increase of population they have all disappeared. The Patroons went the way of the aristocracy and their lands were divided up. The great companies sold out their lands and disappeared, and to-day we have

several thousands of separate farms in their place, all of them giving homes to contented and honest farmers, who are as good citizens as any country need desire to have.

The George Theory.

I will not take up your time with any philosophical discussion of what is known as the "George theory of land," but simply to state that it is purely and simply "confiscation of land" and nothing else. In one of his speeches the other day, when closely questioned, Mr. George admitted that if he had the power he would confiscate all the land in the country, without compensation to the owner. I will not waste your time in discussing before you such a theory as that. But, very strangely, we are told that this is a new crusade; that it is a religious crusade, and that this is the excuse for holding its political meetings on the Sabbath. Dr. McGlynn is preaching what he calls a new Gospel—"the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man." I bid him God-speed, but I want to say to him that the Republican party has done more to bring about the brotherhood of man than all the reforms of this kind that ever were tried. The three great acts in that direction performed by the Re-

publican party were, first, the Proclamation of Emancipation, which freed four millions of slaves, signed by our immortal Lincoln; the second was the thundering of the guns at Gettysburg when we hurled back the hosts of Rebellion from the free North, and made their victory forever impossible; the final act was the surrendering of the sword of the slave holders to our greatest captain, Grant, at Appomattox. If Dr. McGlynn shall be able to accomplish greater things than these, he will have my applause and hearty approbation.

A Religious Campaign.

But he tells us again and again that this is a religious campaign, that he is fighting a new crusade under the old cross. I must assume that the reverend Doctor, if he makes it a religious crusade, must draw his enthusiasm, his inspiration and authority from the Bible. He has been a Bible man in religion, so I think he must go there to get his doctrine—at least the religious part of it. But if either he or you can find anything of the theories of George in the Bible, you must be a more careful reader or a more nimble construer of it than I have been. And if you think that the Bible says

nothing about the division of land and property, you are greatly mistaken. It does, and I have always thought that it applied to the land laws of the United States, and particularly that the Homestead Bill, which was passed by a Republican Congress and signed by Abraham Lincoln, must have been suggested to whoever drew it up by the law which God gave to Moses for the dividing of the promised land among the Hebrews.

Moses vs. George.

Mr. Chairman, I need not remind *you* of this, who are so learned in all law, both divine and human, but for fear that some of my audience do not read that good book every Sunday, let me call your attention briefly to the land laws of the Bible. When Moses was leading the Children of Israel out of the bondage of Egypt into the Promised Land, he was instructed by God Almighty to take that land and divide it up, first among the tribes; and the bounds of the territory of each tribe were all set down and described; and then he was instructed to divide the land of each tribe in severalty among all the families of each tribe absolutely, giving every family its share and lot and portion; and as Moses did not get over Jordan to

do that work himself, he deputed Joshua to do it, and the good book tells us, in many long chapters, if you will read them, how that land was divided. Every head of a family got his particular share. There was no thought of confiscation, but rather of division. And the law went still farther than this—farther than we go now; for it provided that the land should not be alienated, and provided that upon every fiftieth year, when the Jubilee came, if a man had "waxed poor" and mortgaged his land or sold it for a season, it was to be returned to him or his posterity upon this fiftieth year—the great year of Jubilee.

The Shunamite.

Then some of you may remember the story of the Shunamite woman, who took care of the prophet Elisha. She had a farm as the head of a family. By the advice of the prophet she left the country to escape a famine, and when she came back the land had been taken possession of by someone else. The good woman went to the king and laid her complaint before him, and said, "There is my land; while I have been away it has been taken: restore it to me." And the king ordered the commissioner of the land office to go

with the woman at once and put her in possession of the land; and he did, and made the squatter return to her all that he had gotten off of it for seven years.

And still Dr. McGlynn tells us he is preaching a new Gospel. I fear he has forgotten the old one. I would advise him to go back to his Bible and read it very carefully before he undertakes to tell the Christian people of this land that he finds any justification for the confiscation of property within the lids of Holy Writ. On, no! fellow citizens, this new-fangled doctrine is not so old as that. They find no warrant for it there. It had its birth among the philosophers who preceded the French Revolution. There is not an original idea in the whole thing, from beginning to end. It worked its proper and legitimate result in the blood and fire of the French Revolution, and this ought to be the answer, and the only answer, to all incendiary theories of the kind.

The Best Land System in the World.

The people of this country know that we have developed the best land system and the best system for all our people that any government has ever yet succeeded in establishing. We shall not give it up. We will hold to the views of our

fathers, and hold out to every man the privilege of improving his condition, of adding to his little gains, and of eventually making for himself a home and there living under his own vine and fig-tree.

Reasons for Restoring the Republican Party to Power.

In short, fellow citizens, let me repeat, the Republican party claims that it should be restored to power because of the record it made during the time it was in occupancy of the government. A good record in the past is the best guarantee for the future. The Democratic party should be put out of power, because of its bad record of the past—a bad past is a future menace. On all the questions which are now affecting the people, the Republican party appeals to its record—and says to all the people that their interests, whether they be wage workers; whether they be the owners of little homes or owners of farms, or whether they be merchants, or manufacturers, or shippers—or whatever profession or calling they be of—that their interests, both material and moral, are safer in the keeping of the Republican than in the keeping of any other party.

Speech of Hon. Warner Miller, Delivered in Brooklyn, N.Y., Oct. 29, 1887.

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen:

I think I understand the meaning of this great demonstration in Brooklyn. If I read it aright it expresses a determination that the Republican party and the honest people of the City of Brooklyn propose taking their own City government into their own hands. It means, I think, for the time being at least, the end of machine rule in municipal politics here. And why not? Has the Democratic party ever shown the ability, courage or honesty to properly administer the affairs of a great municipality? I make the charge distinctly that the Democratic party, in the rule of the great cities of this Republic, has utterly failed to give the people either economical or honest government.

Examples.

New York City had its experience under Tweed, and under all who have followed him. Cincinnati

has had a trial. Chicago, within the last two years, has had a trial of Democratic incompetency and corruption, until finally the people arose in their might and set the Democratic party aside. And here in this city a few years ago, when you decided to have an honest city government that should administer all your affairs for the interest of all the people, you went to the Republican party to find the man to be Mayor of your city. And so now to-day, the people of Brooklyn, remembering how good a government the Republican party gave them, turn again to the Republican party and ask it to name the officers of this great city. If I may judge of the spirit of the city by the spirit manifested here, it can but mean that the good people of Brooklyn are determined that Colonel Baird shall be Mayor of the city. In all these great efforts for elevation and for the purification of your city government, I bid you God-speed. If we could aid you from the country we would gladly do so.

National Affairs.

But while you are deeply interested in your home affairs, I have no doubt that as American citizens you are also deeply interested in State

and National affairs. And so I am here to-night, not to speak to you of your local matters, for I know but little of them, but to speak in behalf of the Republican party—to call your attention to its record, to its principles and its pledges, and to ask of you your support of its candidates. I know that this is only a State election; but I know also, as you all know, that we cannot separate State and National politics, and that on the result in this State this Fall, upon our State ticket and in the election of our Assembly and State Senate, there are many questions at issue and many interests at stake which reach far beyond this year and this State—they reach into, and will have a controlling influence over the National election of next year. And so I propose to speak to-night chiefly upon National questions.

A Bad Fashion.

I know that of late it has become fashionable with some to say that there is little or no difference between the two great political parties of our country. I know this doctrine has its believers here in the city of Brooklyn; and it is because many of your people, and many of the people of your sister city of New York, believed

in this doctrine that there is little or no difference between the great parties, that the democracy now controls the executive department of this State and of the Nation. When the Republican party was defeated at the National election in 1884, an attempt was made, which partially succeeded, to convince the American people that political principles had ceased to exist, and that the only questions before the people was the question of candidates and of administration, and that there was no question of principle involved. If this had been true, or if it were true now, I would not be here to-night to speak to you; there would be no need. But it is not true; so I ask your attention to the question, Is there anything at stake greater than personal questions? What are the facts? The principles governing the two great parties of this country are substantially to-day what they were when parties were brought into existence during the administration of George Washington.

Hamilton and Jefferson.

Alexander Hamilton was the organizer of what was known as the Federal party, and of which the Republican party of to-day is a lineal and direct descendant. Hamilton sought to create a

great nation out of the thirteen original States. He believed in giving the Federal government great powers to enable it protect all interests and all our people alike, and in order that it might be strong in both its foreign and internal affairs.

Thomas Jefferson, on the other hand, who is claimed as the father of the Democratic party, sought to create a government of very limited and closely restricted powers. He wished to reserve to the individual States what they call the right of State sovereignty, and to limit the powers of the Federal government to the smallest possible basis.

The Resolutions of '98.

He well defined his doctrine of the powers and rights of both the State and Federal governments in the famous resolutions passed by the legislatures of Virginia and Kentucky in 1798; and it was out of the doctrine of the "Resolutions of '98" that grew the notions of nullification, of treason and rebellion. These two opposing principles contended for supremacy until they met upon the bloody battle-field in the late war. One side contended for the

rights of the nation; the other, claiming the right of State sovereignty for each individual State, contended for the right of States to nullify the laws of Congress when they did not approve of them, and in short, the right to secede from the Union. You all know the result, and which side triumphed in that great contest. It was the side of the Union and of the Nation; the side of Hamilton and the Federalist; not of Jefferson and the "Resolutions of '98."

State Rights.

But if you assume or presume that the war has forever taken out of our politics the question of State rights you make a great mistake. The war did undoubtedly forever destroy the claimed right to secede; it did abolish slavery and make all our people free. But the little incident which occurred the other day in Macon, and to which the distinguished gentleman has referred, shows you full well that the early doctrines of Thomas Jefferson, which were amplified by Calhoun, have not been forgotten by the people of the South. They still cling to what they call the reserved rights of the States.

The Same Spirit.

If you have followed closely for the past ten years the legislation of the Federal Congress, you cannot have failed to notice that in all important measures which have come before Congress, the Democratic party, almost without exception, has taken the side of the reserved rights of the States. In other words, it has been against the strong powers of the Federal government. Immediately after the close of the war, and during the years of reconstruction, we heard little of this; but you will remember that when the Democratic party got control of the National House of Representatives—and it has controlled it, with the exception of a single Congress, for the past twelve years—the doctrine of State rights was brought to the front again, and from its position there, controlling the legislation of the country, we are able to see what the true spirit of the Democracy is, and what the Democratic party will do if it comes into full possession and control of all departments of the Government, holding the Senate as well as the House of Representatives, and the Executive Department. It behooves the people of this country—and particularly the people of the great commonwealth of

New York—I say it behooves the intelligent people of New York and of this great city, to pause and consider what damage may come to the country, what injury may come to them as members of this business community, if the Democratic party should, at the end of the next election, be found in possession of all the branches and departments of the Federal Government, and ready again to bow down to the doctrine of the reserved rights of the States as defined in the "resolutions of '98."

Responsibility.

If this subject had been well considered by the people of this city and New York in 1884, surely the Presidency of the United States would not have gone from the Republican party by the votes of these two cities: for it so happens, fellow citizens, that Grover Cleveland is President by the failure of the Republicans of this city and New York to do their full duty in that contest; and I have no doubt that in the coming contest the final settlement will be made by the votes cast in this corner of the State. When you consider the real condition of affairs, when you see that one portion of our country, beginning at the Potomac River and running west to the Mississippi,

and beyond out to the Territories, can count 153 electoral votes for any candidate the Democratic party may nominate, without any regard to qualifications, principles or platform, and that in addition to these 153 votes it is only necessary to add to them the votes of New York, Connecticut and New Jersey, certainly your duty as Republicans is quite apparent. If there had been an honest vote, a fair election, and an honest return in the South in 1884, the Republican party would have carried at least half the Southern States.

What We are Going to do About It?

Do you ask what are we going to do about it, Democrats? I answer, we are going to do all we can about it under the Constitution and the Laws. I answer, that the Republican party will never lay down its arms and leave the political field until it has accomplished its great work. When it freed four millions of slaves it had but just begun its mission. Its mission will not end until, in addition to that glorious work, it shall be made certain that every American citizen everywhere in this country—wherever the Stars and Stripes float—shall have the right and the privilege of casting his vote without fear or molestation, and

know that when it is so cast it shall be counted and returned without fraud. When that happy condition shall be brought about, then perhaps we may be willing to disband our forces. We will answer that question when that time shall come.

The Proof.

I said a moment ago that the Democratic party now in power has by no means abandoned its old doctrines of State rights: on the contrary, it holds firmly to them, as may be seen in its attitude on many questions of vital importance. Need I refer you, in proof of this, to the attempted legislation of the present Democratic House of Representatives or of its failure to legislate in certain directions? The Republican party established the National Banking system. The Democratic party from its very beginning has been opposed to National Banks. When Alexander Hamilton proposed the establishment of National Banks the then followers of Thomas Jefferson opposed it unanimously. Have you forgotten how, after the United States Bank Charter had expired, the Democratic party under Andrew Jackson refused to renew the charter, and the Bank of the United States ceased to exist because the Democratic

party would not permit it to exist. And why? Not that they were opposed to banks, but, on the theory that under the Constitution there was no power granted to Congress to charter a National Bank, that they could only be chartered by the States. This was one of the "Reserved Rights of the States." And so when the present National Banking system was established the Democratic party opposed its establishment; and when a few years ago bank charters began to expire under the twenty year limitation, the Republican party tried to pass a law permitting these banks to continue their existence. It passed the Republican Senate, and coming to the Democratic House it was fought there persistently for weeks and months. The Democratic party, particularly the Southern portion of it, took the ground that National Banks were unconstitutional and should not be continued. After a long fight of several months, when a great panic seemed staring us in the face, the bill was finally passed by a very small majority, and we were thus saved from disaster.

Good Results.

Under our present law, with a reduced rate of interest upon bonds, it is simply a fact that there is

no longer anything to prevent any bank buying bonds and putting out currency, and as a result of this condition the circulation of the National Banks gradually increased some thirty-six millions of dollars. The National Bank system is growing in favor with the people of this country. I need not say to the intelligent people of Brooklyn that the National banking system is the one great institution that makes all our commerce, and all our manufacturing, and all our trade move gently and safely—it is the great balance-wheel of our commercial affairs. But we are confronted by the Democratic party of the South which does not believe in the National Banks, and so they stand, holding out and refusing to give any relief, and now the currency of the country is being contracted. I might refer you to a score of important measures which have failed in the last ten years in Congress; measures of vast concern to our people, such as have been spoken of here to-night, such as the failure to take care of our merchant marine and build it up—and you will find that the failure of all these great measures lies at the door of the Democratic party in every case.

Business Needs Neglected.

We have been able to do nothing for the business interests of this country as it ought to be done, and when it ought to be done. During the past ten years we have been standing still, because, the House being Democratic, needed legislation could not be obtained. If our business affairs have not met with a great disaster during the past few years, it is no credit to the Democratic party. That party has failed to do anything for the relief of any situation, and whatever of prosperity we are blessed with must be credited solely to the wisdom of the measures of finance and banking and tariff passed by the Republican party during the years when it held the entire control of the government, and which the Democrats have been unable to repeal or destroy.

Why is it that the Democratic party opposes a protective tariff? Have you thought of it? Democrats are no more interested in free trade, as a profit to themselves individually, than you or I. The old system of slavery which they thought made free trade profitable to the South has passed away, and to-day they are opening up mines in the South and great industries are being built up

there. Why do their great statesmen and leaders oppose a protective tariff? Simply upon the ground of which I have already spoken. Theoretical entirely: they take the ground that there is no power under the Constitution to levy a tariff for protection; that the reserved rights of the States prevents it; that the Constitution has given power to the Federal Government to levy taxes for revenue only; and it is upon this theoretical doctrine, and this only, that their leaders in the Senate and the House have been arguing against our protective tariff system and against their own interest for the last twelve years.

A Logical Conclusion.

We are met, then, with this condition: the Constitution of the United States forbids the levying of duties by any of the individual States: it puts both interstate and foreign commerce under the control of the Congress of the United States. If the American people have no power to levy a protective tariff, then the power does not exist among our people at all. So the Democratic party in denying it to Congress, and upon what they claim to be constitutional grounds, denies it to us entirely. I cannot go into any

lengthy discussion of the tariff here to-night, and I assume that in this great manufacturing city—a city containing so many thousands of skilled laborers—it is not necessary; the great mass of the people of this city are protectionists. I have been told that a few of our good people in Brooklyn are a little tender-footed upon the protective tariff system, but I have only one doctrine to preach on that question, either in New York or Brooklyn, or in the country. The position of the Republican party on that question has always been open and above board. The Republican party has never resorted to any subterfuge, and I trust never will. And if all the people of this great city and this great State who believe in a protective tariff system would only vote with the party which has stood consistently for that principle, we would have a majority for protection in this State of more than 200,000. And this question of the tariff is an all important one—a vital one to the interests of the American people to-day. I say this advisedly, fully weighing my words.

The Present Condition.

Let us look for a moment at the present condition of affairs. We have a protective tariff

system put in force and adopted by the Republican party, and along with it an Internal Revenue system, and between these two systems of taxation we are bringing into the Federal treasury about one hundred million dollars per annum more than the ordinary expenses of our government, including the interest upon the public debt and pensions to our soldiers. Now, it stands to reason that this condition of things cannot long go on without bringing serious trouble to all the business interests of this country. If this amount of currency shall be taken out of the channels of business for only one year, who shall tell, who can prophecy, what terrible financial disaster may not come to the interests of the country? During the last three months there was a threatened surplus of twenty millions. Need I remind you that this great business centre of New York was kept constantly on the anxious seat fearing some trouble to her business because of this withdrawal of currency? And it was only by the Government's going into the markets and buying bonds for the sinking fund that we were saved from a great disaster. But we cannot go on in this way —the issue must sometime be met. Why has it not been met already by the Democratic party

since it has been in power? For two and a half years that party has had control of the Executive branch of the government, and of the House of Representatives, where all bills relating to the revenue and tariff must originate. What have they attempted? They have done nothing, and attempted to do nothing, though they see the situation clearly before them. They have known that upon the first day of July of this year that all the 3 and 3½ per cent. bonds would be paid and that no other bonds were due until July, 1889.

The Part of Wisdom is the Real Plan.

If they had been wise and had known how to treat the government and the country, and had cared for the interests of the people, they would have brought in some measure of relief. But nothing of the kind. There has been no agreement among the Democrats in the House of Representatives as to what the relief should be. And so they have gone on. What can be the reason? Have you asked yourselves that question? Is it incompetency? Certainly they are not without experience and knowledge of affairs. Why have they declined to do anything or to make any attempt? I charge that they have failed

to do anything to reduce the revenues of this country and to prevent this surplus coming into the Treasury with the deliberate intention of allowing it to accumulate and of bringing a stringency upon the money market, and upon the great North, and bringing upon us such a pressure, that the North, in order to reduce the surplus, would consent to a reduction practically to the destruction of the protective tariff system. That is what they are attempting to force upon the American people.

Trying to Force Tariff Reduction.

During the last few weeks of the last session of Congress the Democratic party could have brought into the House, at any time, a bill taking off the tariff on tobacco, which amounts to thirty millions a year, which could have passed the House in a day and the Senate in less time. But the Speaker of the House of Representatives absolutely refused to recognize any man to take up a bill of that kind. He and his party knew perfectly well that by taking off that tax alone the surplus would be reduced for the following year thirty millions of dollars. The Democratic leaders in the House, including Mr. Carlisle and

his followers, were determined, and it was known in Washington that no reduction of internal taxation would be consented to, until the tariff men of this country would agree with them to a reduction of our import duties. And this is the position of the Democratic party—the position that has to be met when Congress meets in December.

Must be Met.

The business interests of the North are demanding measures of relief in these matters, while they do not want to break down the protective tariff system. And it is on this ground Mr. Carlisle and his followers propose to compromise this measure. How shall we meet it? It is a serious question—it must be met by statesmanship. It can be met in no other way. I believe that the intelligence of the North, the intelligence of the Republican party, the intelligence of the great majority of the Democratic party of the North, will warrant the incoming Congress in refusing to cut down our protective tariff duties—that your representatives will represent your interests and the interests of all our people by forcing a reduction of the revenue on another basis. I do not propose to take your time to-night in going into a discussion of how the

revenue shall be reduced. I have no doubt, however, that if it were left to the Republican party the whole question would be met and settled without difficulty—met as other questions have been repeatedly met since the war, for this is not the first time there has been a threatened surplus. The Repulican party has never failed to make a proper reduction of taxation when it appeared from the financial statements that there would be a surplus the ensuing year.

Republican Work.

To-day the only internal tax levied is upon tobacco and malt and spirituous liquors. In 1880, when we elected President Garfield, we also elected, for the first time in four or six years, a Republican House of Representatives, and then we were in power and we were enabled to enact legislation and were proceeding in that Congress to make a revision of the Internal Revenue laws. We reduced the tax on tobacco one-half, and made other reductions of the tariff without affecting its protection principle at all. We made a reduction in the spring of 1883, which, estimated upon the then imports of the country, amounted to about thirty-five million dollars per annum, and that was a sufficient reduction at the time, and from that time to this we have gone on applying the surplus to the payment of the three per cent. bonds until they have all disappeared. Such, in short, is the way the Republican party has met the question of the surplus—met it practically, according to the exigency of the time. The Democratic party has done nothing either on the surplus question, the tax question, or the tariff question, and it stands holding the country in its hand, threatening all business and commercial interests with disaster by this surplus, and it does not propose to release its grasp until it has compelled the men of this country to yield to its demands and break down the protective system altogether.

A Fatal Plan.

I need not go into any extensive argument to show how fatal would be this plan if they persist in carrying it out. You well understand that if the duties were reduced to any considerable extent on manufactured products, it would not bring a reduction of revenue. The Democratic party knows very well the surplus cannot be reduced in that way, although it holds out that plan to the country. Any considerable reduction in the duties received

from imported goods can only be made by putting a larger percentage of goods on the free list. The Republican party has already put on the free list nearly all raw materials not produced in this country, and you can go no farther in this reduction of the revenue without increasing the free list. But I know that in these busy times, in these great cities, when all the people are employed in their industries and commercial pursuits, they are apt thoughtlessly to satisfy their political consciences that there is no difference between the parties, and to realize no danger till it is upon them. I have shown you something of the fundamental differences between the two great parties as they have existed in the past and as they exist now; and I might call your attention to the record of each, to show you the inevitable fruit of its principles. But the record of the Democratic party during the two and a half years last past I think is sufficient to condemn it before all intelligent people, and ought to be sufficient to drive it out of power at the next election.

The Civil Service.

The people of Brooklyn will particularly remember the pledges of the administration in regard to

the purification of our civil service. I believe that many of your good people voted with the Democratic party because they thought it would make the reform more thorough and complete than the Repulican party would. What has been the result? They have made the reform most thorough in one sense. The great leader of civil service reform in this country has stated that the President has disappointed the expectations of his friends. If so much can be admitted by these men, what shall we say of the entire Democratic party? It has met the expectation of its friends most thoroughly, too, by demanding the removal of every official, no matter what his position might be, and it has in almost every case succeeded in bringing it about. The Democratic party has utterly failed to carry out its pledges as to civil service reform, and in my judgment, nothing farther will be heard in that direction until the party which originated the law shall be returned to power and put it into honest operation.

Republican Honesty.

The Republican party does not abate one jot or tittle in its devotion to an honest administration of public affairs and civil service reform. It stands

honestly advocating both to-day, and it will so continue to stand until it shall be restored to power and have the opportunity to perfect their reforms. The Democratic party has been very successful in making a change in the offices—particularly so far as the veterans of the late war are concerned. Notwithstanding the veterans of the Union army were protected by a statute of the United States the Democratic party has hunted them out and has removed them from office. We have not objected to the appointment of Confederate soldiers at all, for there seemed a sort of justice in the administration appointing men from the States with 153 solid electoral votes—at least it was to be expected. But what we do object to is Union soldiers being turned out to put Confederates in. And we do also object to the unjust and unnecessary veto messages of the President in regard to a large number of private pension bills. They were passed by both Houses of Congress after the most careful examination, and I regret that the President should have brought so much sorrow and suffering to poor and worthy defenders of the country for sake of the petty economy advocated in these vetoes.

Look at it All.

Look at all these questions from any standpoint you will—go back and take the record of the Republican party from its organization down to the 4th of March, 1885, and you can find nothing like it in the history of any country or of the human race. It has done more to build up the waste places than all. I do not claim that the Republican party is perfect, or that it never made any mistakes, but I do claim for it that during the twenty-five years that it held sway it never failed to meet any emergency with wisdom and courage. If you can point me to a failure, if you can call my attention to a case where the Republican party failed, or refused to meet an emergency like the present surplus emergency, I will be glad to pause and wait for an answer. But I know no such case can be cited against it.

Conclusion.

Now, in conclusion, I submit to business men, I submit to laboring men of Brooklyn, the question whether or not a party after having been out of power for twenty-five years and then restored by the votes of a free people, which for two and a half years has failed to keep a single pledge made

to the people, is a proper party to retain in power —a party which has failed to make any serious attempt to keep any pledge made to the people, failed to do anything promotive of anything in the interests of the people—is it a fit party to be trusted and continued in power?

The Republican party asks return to power upon its record—its achievements, and also upon the failure and manifest incompetency of its opponent, which has proved its inability to accomplish anything for the good of the people. This question is to be submitted to you for your votes on the 8th of November next; and while it is only a State election no man can say what effect that election may have on the coming election next year, and no one here will doubt that if the Republican party shall carry this State this year by a fair majority there is not a reasonable doubt it will carry it next year by a vastly increased majority. It is for you people of Brooklyn, then, not only to care for your city government, which I know is dear to you all, but to look also to the interests of the State and the Nation; and we of the country appeal to the Republicans of Brooklyn to do their full duty to the last man; to poll every honest vote which belongs to the party on the 8th of November; and if you do your duty here fully and completely in these two great cities—if you shall consider well these great questions, presented to you on this platform and through the public press, and do your full duties as American citizens, I can assure you that the good people of the rural districts will do their full share in bringing about a glorious Republican victory and a return of the party to power in the State in November of this year, and in the National Government in November of next year.

The President's Message—A Criticism.

By WARNER MILLER.

Fifth Avenue Hotel,
New York, Jan. 25, 1888.

Thomas M. Nichol,
334 Fifth Avenue:

My Dear Sir,—Since the preceding addresses were delivered, and since you informed me of your intention to organize the Republican Publishing Company, and of its plan, and your purpose to publish these speeches as one of the documents of the Company, Congress has convened and the President's message has been delivered. As that remarkable document confirms and emphasizes the charges made in these speeches, that the intention of the Democracy, and particularly of the present administration, led by President Cleveland and Speaker Carlisle, is to break down our protective tariff system, a brief criticism of the message will not be out of place or taste, as an appendix to this publication.

A Remarkable Message.

As has been pointed out by Senator Sherman in his conclusive answer to it, this message is a most remarka-

ble one, ignoring all precedents of all presidents of all parties, as well as the constitutional requirement that the President lay before Congress each year, at its convening, a message of full information on the general state of the country. It is the first time a President has confined himself to one subject, and delivered what is, and was intended to be, a bold political campaign document, for the purpose of defining a campaign issue and forcing his party to accept his position as its position, at the hazard of division and defeat. It is a bold move and shows President Cleveland to be a man of nerve. It is one of those audacious dashes which if made in the heat of conflict inspires followers with enthusiasm and courage and does much toward the achievement of victory—but Mr. Cleveland must have forgotten for the time that the Presidential office is purely executive. Coming so long before the conflict, however brilliant, it will be worn out and its last echo will have ceased to resound long before the election of next November.

A Free-Trade Message.

It cannot be ignored that this message is a decided free-trade document. The President's most intimate advisers are the prominent free-traders of his party—Carlisle, Morrison, Mills, Scott and others of the same sentiments, while Randall is relegated to a back seat in the councils of both President and party. Then the Report of the Secretary of

the Treasury is even bolder in its free-trade tendencies than the message itself, showing concert of design in the same direction by President and Secretary.

Again: the organization of the Ways and Means Committee, and the action of its Democratic majority since its organization, doubly emphasizes the free-trade intentions of the administration. The way the message has been received and lauded by free-traders all over the country and in Europe shows either that it must be a free-trade document, or that free-traders don't know a free-trade document when they see it.

England's Delight.

No official document issued in this country has ever been received with such manifestations of delight in England as has marked the reception of this message. The manufacturers of England look forward more hopefully now than ever before, to the enjoyment of our markets for a large class of goods, now made at home under the protection of the tariff, and from which they are now excluded by the tariff.

This brings us to a very plain and practical phase of the subject—one so plain that it amazes me why any patriotic American citizen who desires the prosperity of his own country can be a free-trader. If English manufacturers get these markets, our own factories, now producing the goods, must close up, and perhaps become worthless property, while their operatives will be scattered over the

country, seeking employment in other fields already overcrowded. This, or cut down wages to the starvation standard, would be the only alternative. I need not stop to argue the point that the reason the cost of manufacturing here is so much more than in Europe is the higher rate of wages paid here—indeed, the President admits this.

Another suggestion of the President's message is, that raw material should be admitted free of duty to enable our own manufacturers to produce goods here as cheaply as they do in Europe. He says that they could then enter the markets of the world instead of being confined to home markets. This is the stock argument of all free-traders. There is absolutely nothing in it.

The Factors of Manufactures.

The three principal factors in the problem of manufacturing are, first: raw material; second: labor or wages; third: cost of capital. Now, if we had free raw material, that is, if our manufacturers secured their raw material at the same price as the manufacturers of England or any other country of Europe, we would not be able to enter into competition with them in the markets of the world so long as we continued to pay the present rate of wages and so long as the cost of capital is higher here than it is in Europe.

Wages is the principal factor in manufacturing. In

many industries it is equal to 50 and 75 per cent. of the entire cost of production. If it costs more to produce iron and steel in this country than abroad it is because we pay higher wages. The value of iron-ore and coal in the mines is no greater here than abroad. But the cost of mining and transporting is much greater. The wages paid to iron operatives are greater. In short: the cost of making iron is almost entirely the cost of wages and capital, which make 75 to 90 per cent. of the cost of the finished product. Any one at all familiar with manufacturing or commercial operations will see at once that we cannot hope to enter into competition with foreign manufacturers in the markets of the world, unless our wages are reduced to the same standard as the wages paid abroad.

The Key to the Tariff Question.

Wages, then, is the key to the tariff question, and although the President assures the laboring men that he doesn't want wages reduced to the standard paid abroad, he proceeds to argue with them that if their wages are reduced they will be able to buy at a less price under the new order of things. The answer to that proposition is that the laborers of Europe who receive these low wages do not live nearly so well as American workingmen. The consumption of farm products and manufactured products by 60,000,000 Americans is equal to the consumption of double

the number of persons in Europe. This is due to the higher rate of wages that we pay. Our people wear more clothing, and better clothing and consume more food—and better food than any other people in the world. If we break down the tariff and reduce wages we shall break down our own markets by curtailing the capacity and ability of the people to consume the products of the farm and factory.

Investigations made by scientific men show that our laboring people consume at least 25 per cent. more of nourishing food than do the same classes in Europe. This is undoubtedly the chief reason why our laboring people are able to do more work in a given period than European laborers. Break down the tariff system, reduce wages thereby, and you not only break down the home market, but you break down the labor of the country itself by reducing its capacity for production. The question of wages and consumption is the most vital one with which an executive or a government has to deal.

All Laborers Protected by the Tariff.

Under protection the non-protected industries suffer, he claims : and This is a question that enables me to speak of another of the President's mistakes. He says carpenters, blacksmiths, masons, and so on, are not protected. He calls them the "non-protected industries." As a fact, these are the only people who are absolutely protected in this country.

They have protection to the amount of prohibition. Mr. Cleveland argues that out of 17,000,000 or more of workers only those who are engaged in mining or manufacturing are benefited by a protective tariff, and these only amount to 2,600,000. There are 375,000 carpenters, 172,000 blacksmiths, 125,000 masons and plasterers, and many others who, he argues, are not benefited by the protective system because there is no duty on their products. They are nevertheless protected more absolutely than those engaged in manufacturing establishments. The workers in woolen manufacturing establishments affected by the present duties are brought into competition with workers in the woolen mills of Europe, for more than $40,000,000 of foreign woolen goods were brought in here last year and sold in competition with our native product. The same principle holds good with regard to iron, steel, silk, cotton, and, in fact, all manufactured products. But there is no direct foreign competition with our carpenters, masons and blacksmiths. You cannot import houses ready made.

Highest Wages Paid.

All these laborers who the President claims have no interest in a protective tariff have really a protection that amounts to prohibition of competition with their product ; and by reference to the official tables of wages it appears that they are paid, too, the highest wages, in this country, of

all the trades—much higher wages than are paid the operatives in the mills who meet foreign competition in spite of a protective tariff; and two to four times higher than the wages paid for similar work in Europe. It is the building up of towns and cities around manufacturing establishments that is encouraged by protection that enables carpenters and masons to receive this high rate of wages. Why, under the tariff of 1857, down to 1860, carpenters who now receive $3 to $4 a day were glad to get $1 a day; and all other artisans received wages in the same proportion. All the people in this country who labor at all are benefited directly in their increased rate of wages by protection. The only class of people who would be benefited by the overthrow of protection are those who do not work, but live on fixed incomes derived from the investment of fortunes accumulated by the labors of their ancestors.

The Surplus.

The principal reason given by free-traders for removing the present tariff is that we have a surplus in the Treasury, and are collecting more money than we need for the expenses of the government. It by no means follows that because we have a surplus we should abolish the means by which that surplus was created: but, as a fact, we have no surplus so long as we have a debt to pay. The direct and vital question involved is whether the country is more prosperous under the present system of customs taxation than it would be if that system were abolished. That is the whole tariff question in a nutshell, and it practically answers itself, because there is no man in the country so ignorant that he doesn't know that the condition of the people of this country is immeasurably superior to the condition of the people in any other country.

The War Tariff.

It is charged by the free-traders that the present system of taxation is a war tariff, and that as twenty-five years have passed away since the war, it should be abolished as no longer necessary. This is fallacious reasoning, because of the fact that taxation that was made necessary by the war has not yet ceased to be necessary. We still have about $1,200,000,000 of war debt to pay, the interest on which alone amounts to about $50,000,000 a year. The annual payments for pensions amount to $75,000,000 per annum. The contributions to the sinking fund amount to some $30,000,000 or $40,000,000 more. Thus there are expenses of government at the present time directly attributable to the war amounting to over $150,000,000 per annum. So that the cry that the tariff should be abolished because the war is over falls to the ground. If any system of taxation may be called a war tax it is the Internal Revenue system, which in all history has only been

levied in times of war, or until the indebtedness incurred for war has been paid off.

The End of War Taxes.

Garfield, in one of his memorable speeches, said: "The end of battles and peace is not the end of war; for the dead must be buried, and the cost of the conflict must be paid."

It is pure demagogy to howl about war taxes. We have war taxes, and we will continue to have them till every dollar of the war debt is paid, and the last pensioner of the war is buried.

Infant Industries.

Infant Industries is another fallacious sneer used by free-traders.

The industries of this country are not infant industries. The President in his message intimated that the manufacturers are still claiming that their industries are in an infantile condition and must have the aid of government protection. This is not the case at all. Only free-traders who desire to ridicule and break down our tariff system talk about our infant industries. The fact is that the value of our manufactures is greater than that of England or any other country. Our manufacturers are not now asking protection on the ground that their industries are undeveloped. Some few products are not yet fully developed, as for instance, some high grades of cotton

goods and some woolen goods, but as regards the vast majority of the industrial products of the world we are the equal of any other country.

How and How Much to Reduce Taxation.

It is admitted on all hands that we are collecting more money than we need for the expenses of government, including the expenses I have already named for the interest on the war debt, for pensions, and for contributions to the sinking fund. The only point of dispute is how to reduce the tariff and how much we shall reduce it.

During the last fiscal year, according to President Cleveland's message, the surplus revenue amounted to a little over $55,000,000. According to the estimates of his officers, it is stated that the present fiscal year will show a surplus equal to or exceeding $100,000,000. It would hardly be wise to reduce the tariff to the entire amount of the surplus, for the reason that if the business of the country should fall off, or if for any other reason we should have hard times, there would no longer be a surplus, but instead there would be a deficit. The revenue should not be reduced more than $75,000,000 to $85,000,000 at the utmost.

Internal Revenue Revision.

President Cleveland suggests that because there is no complaint as to the internal revenue system of taxation it

should be left as it is. I do not agree with him. If his plan were adopted the revenue reduction would be made only on the customs duty. The revenue received from the customs duties last year amounted to $204,000,000. If a reduction of $75,000,000 or $100,000,000 be made from that source it will be seen that the whole protective tariff system would be broken down. Wisdom would seem to dictate that the decrease in the revenue should be made both in the customs and in the internal revenue system.

If the internal revenue tax on leaf tobacco and spirits for mechanical arts and medicinal purposes should be abolished at least one-half of the surplus would be disposed of. If the consumers of leaf tobacco are not complaining about the tax on it, the farmers who grow tobacco are complaining, and very bitterly at a tax that is levied on their product when there is no need of it. Many of our manufacturers would be aided and benefited if the tax on alcohol which they use in their various processes were removed.

Tariff Revision.

The tariff should be carefully revised by the people in sympathy with it and brought into harmony with the present condition of the country. If the tariff on sugar were entirely removed or reduced on the bounty plan our people would get cheaper sugar and the producer would not be injured, and if it should be found that a bounty given to

producers was not a success by encouraging home production we should be paying nothing out of the Treasury and the people would secure one of the necessities of life at a much lower rate than they are now paying.

The tariff should be revised by putting on the free list all raw materials not a product of our own country. Other changes might be made that would not necessitate a reduction of wages of any of our working people, which is the one thing that must and should be avoided. The surplus now on hand and which will accumulate before any change in the laws can go into effect, should not be used for any extravagance of public improvement, but to pay off a portion of the national debt. We cannot, in truth, be said to have any surplus as long as we have any portion of debt unpaid.

Power to Keep Down a Surplus.

The law gives the Secretary of the Treasury power now to buy and cancel bonds. Instead of hoarding it, his duty is to see that this money is returned to the channels of commerce, which can be done by buying bonds. The present Secretary objects to the authority, because it was passed as a rider on an appropriation bill. But some of the most important laws ever placed on the statute-books were so passed. It has always been held that a law giving such authority or discretion should be put in force when the

public exigencies demand it. There is such an exigency now.

The present administration came into power denouncing the Republican party for holding a surplus in the Treasury, which then amounted only to $20,000,000. But Mr. Cleveland's Secretary did not issue a call for bonds for over six months after he came into office and until the surplus had increased to $80,000,000. The present surplus accumulation is being held in the Treasury as a menace and threat against the business of the entire country and in order to force Congress to break down our tariff system. If the menace fails, as fail it will, and if Congress fails to pass any law, the Treasury will pay out the accumulation for bonds in order to make money plenty on the eve of a Presidential election.

But One Point.

The President's whole argument makes but one weak point—that our people could get their clothing cheaper under free trade, or some intermediate jugglery of the tariff. As I have said before; if they could they would either have to buy them abroad or have them made cheaper at home by lowering wages. Wages cannot be lowered and adjusted to the standard of European competition. The result would be our factories would close—our people would be out of work and it would make no difference how cheap

clothing (or food either) might be: without work they would have no money to buy. We cannot afford in the interest of "cheap clothing" to put our artisans where for want of employment they cannot buy at any price. This is exactly what free trade would do. I remember having heard of an Irishman telling how much he could buy in Ireland for a sixpence. When asked why he did not stay in Ireland then, he replied: "Because I couldn't get the sixpence."

So free trade for a time might make some things cheap, but it would put thousands upon thousands of our working people where they couldn't get the sixpence.

Conclusion.

There is but one position for Republicans to take—protection for sake of protection to every article that can be produced at home. If this brings enough revenue for the expenses of the government, well and good. If it brings more than enough, expend the surplus in the interest of the government and people. Buy bonds and reduce the debt; make needed improvements of harbors and waterways; build a decent navy and coast defences, and a merchant marine; erect government buildings wherever the interest on their cost will compare favorably with rent now being paid; pension and care for Union soldiers who may be in need, as a kind and generous father would for a loyal son.

All these avenues are open for the honest and honorable expenditure of money, by means of which all the surplus resulting from perfect protection can be immediately returned to the channels of business in a way to do good to all classes. But at all hazards let the policy of protection be maintained until it is fully recognized as the policy of the American Republic and the American people—as fully as specie payment is recognized as their financial policy—as fully as liberty and union are recognized, and till free trade becomes as much the groan of a reminiscence as fiat money, slavery and secession. This square-toed position, in my judgment, is the only one for Republicans to take—it is both safe and right.

Yours respectfully,

WARNER MILLER.

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